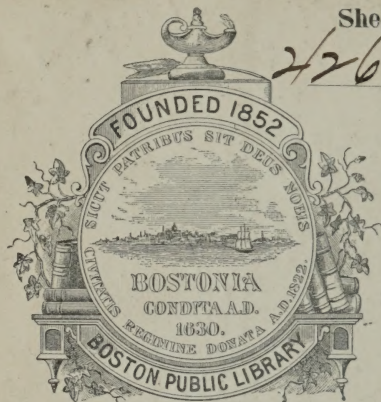


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A
LETTER

TO THE

4265.73

HON. HARRISON GRAY OTIS,

PELEG SPRAGUE,

AND

RICHARD FLETCHER, Esq.

“ Nothing, for which I have not the evidence of my senses, is to me more clear, than that it [slavery] will one day destroy that reverence for liberty, which is the vital principle of our republic.” — *Speech of WILLIAM PINKNEY in the Maryland House of Delegates, 1789.*

“ If any practices exist, contrary to the principles of justice and humanity, within the reach of our laws or our influence, we are inexcusable, if we do not exert ourselves to restrain and abolish them.” — *DANIEL WEBSTER's Plymouth Oration in 1820.*

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W. Phillips

June 26, 1882

WILLIAM

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OF THE

P R E F A C E .

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THE following Letter appeared in the Boston Courier, a short time after the meeting in Faneuil Hall, to which it referred—long enough ago to be forgotten by all but a few friends of the writer, who thought some of the reminiscences contained in it might be usefully republished at this time in a less ephemeral form. The name of the writer is not now attached to it for the reason originally given in the Letter itself. It could add nothing to the weight of any statements or opinions contained in the article, which, being such as he would never be ashamed to avow, he has no hesitation in thus publishing anonymously. A few notes are added, which seemed to be needed in the advancing state of the subject in the public interest.

LETTER.

GENTLEMEN,—I attended with great alacrity the meeting of the 21st of August, in Faneuil Hall. It was expected that you would there address your fellow-citizens, on a question of momentous interest, and I anticipated, probably in common with many others, a degree of satisfaction in regard to it. For, hitherto, I had had reason to feel something of that uneasiness, which every lover of truth must experience, in regard to important questions of morality or policy, when he seems to himself to see the weight of reason on one side, and that of authority on the other.

Though I have never been a member of any anti-slavery society, it has happened to me to be intimately acquainted with individuals belonging to the professional and commercial classes of the community, whose judgment in ordinary matters of worldly concernment I had every reason to respect, and whose uprightness and intelligence I held in high estimation, who were at the same time active members of these societies. I had attended to their reasonings on the subject of slavery, and perused pretty carefully many of their publications. The former appeared to me to be sound, and the latter to contain much good morality and powerful argument, though there was intermixed with these, at times, a strength and even violence of denunciation, which I could not quite approve, either on the score of propriety or policy; there were exemplifications, in short, of that universal tendency of zeal in any cause to go beyond the bounds of discretion; a tendency, which, other things being equal, is perhaps strong in proportion to the intrinsic importance of its object.

On the other hand, gentlemen, I had found, almost every where, out of the ranks of the abolitionists, a disposition to denounce them, as a band of furious agitators, who were ready to sacrifice every thing, which their countrymen hold sacred, to a maniacal philanthropy; and I had received the impression, that the great bulk of the leading men in society were inclined to agree in a feeling of strong disapprobation of their movements.

Under these circumstances, the desire was natural to understand, first, whether the disapprobation thus felt by the leading and influential men of our community, whose opinions must, at all times, be, *prima facie*, entitled to respect, was confined to those proceedings of some of the abolitionists, which had seemed to me to be of doubtful propriety; or whether it extended to the whole tenor of their words and doings, plans and doctrines, in short, to the whole abolition movement.

In the second place, I expected, that, supposing it to extend, as I suspected that it did extend, to the whole project of the abolitionists, I should be enabled to understand the reason of this disapprobation, by hearing them explained by you, in detail, and thereby be relieved from the weight of authority, which was oppressive, without being satisfactory.

As my meaning in this last statement may not be perfectly clear, I may observe in explanation of it, that I consider every man to be under an obligation, more or less strong, according to circumstances, to permit the opinions to weigh with him, of all persons, who are on other grounds entitled to his respect, so long as he is unacquainted with the reasons of those opinions; since he is bound to suppose, that reasons exist, which might affect his own opinions, provided he had an opportunity of becoming acquainted with them. But, so soon as the reasons themselves are fully made known to him, much, if not the whole, of this obligation ceases to exist; the claim of authority being, in fact, waved by the statement of reasons, which are substituted for it, in every such instance, and which may of right be independently considered.

Thus, if any judicious person were to declare to me his belief in the existence of a sea-serpent, I should be bound to allow some weight to the circumstance ; but should he explain that his belief rested entirely upon the fact of there being, in the public papers, a certificate that such an animal had been seen by individuals, whose persons and credibility were alike unknown to him ; I think it would be absurd to allow any weight to his opinion, additional to that of the testimony, or certificate, which would then become the proper subject of consideration.

In regard to the first question, which I stated to regard the precise object of your disapprobation ; I think, that, unless I have misunderstood the purport of your addresses, I may venture to take it for granted, that it does truly extend to the whole abolition movement, — to all the doings of all the anti-slavery societies, so called, which are now existing in the United States, — and for the following reasons ; that they are mere agitators, calculating to get up an injurious excitement, which has no lawful object ; that they propose nothing for discussion, properly so called, nor offer any plan to effect the alleged object.

“ Sir, it is a mockery, and an insult to the understanding, to call these publications [those which the abolitionists disseminate] discussions. Nothing is discussed, nothing is proposed for discussion. No plan to effect the alleged object. Nothing is said to enlighten the mind or improve the heart, but every thing is said to inflame, and *only to inflame*, the passions.”

I quote the words of Mr. Fletcher, with whose opinions you may all, I suppose, gentlemen, be held to agree in substance, as his speech was the leading one, and was referred to in the others, in terms of approbation, and without exception to any of his views.

These then are the supposed facts, upon which your expressions of reprobation are based, and the inference from them, as drawn by you, I admit to be sound. They would be ground sufficient, and few would need the weight of your authority in addition to his belief of

their reality — but, for the same reason, that authority can have little weight with those, who have evidence satisfactory to themselves, that the facts are quite otherwise.

I stated, gentlemen, that I expected satisfaction. I received it abundantly. I have been certified from your own lips of a deficiency of information on your part, which, were I twenty years younger, would probably have seemed to me remarkable in the case of men of so much general information. I have, however, lived long enough to find myself scantily informed on a great many subjects, with which I had persuaded myself that I was well acquainted; and to think it a more reasonable ground of surprise, that men like yourselves should have found time, among their various important cares and duties, to know so much and so thoroughly on so many subjects, than that there should be now and then one, on which they seem to lack some information. I have said, gentlemen, that there seems to me to be a deficiency of information on your part in regard to this matter, for the slightest suspicion of intentional misrepresentation is precluded by a knowledge of characters, which the general opinion of their fellow-citizens places in the front ranks in the array of integrity, intelligence, and patriotism.

Allow me, gentlemen, respectfully to endeavour to supply this deficiency, and to assure you, that the members of the anti-slavery societies in these States have a plan, which they at least think lawful, and of which they are constantly challenging the discussion, and to explain to you its nature, as I understand it. Their plan is to procure a majority of votes in Congress in favor of bills for the abolition of slavery, in the District of Columbia,* and in those territories, now under the jurisdiction of the general government, in which it may be constitutionally abolished, and for the prohibition of the domestic slave-trade between the States.† Their plan is, further, to demonstrate to such of our Southern

* See note A.

† See note B.

brethren, as publicly declare, or silently maintain the doctrine, that negro slavery is no evil, but a necessary adjunct, or condition of unmixed republicanism; to demonstrate to these, I say, that it is truly "a great moral and political evil" — or to use the words of one of your number on a former occasion, "a moral pestilence." The words of him, I mean "that old man eloquent"* who fifteen years ago on the floor of Congress prayed his fellow-legislators not "to entail on posterity a scourge, for which we reproach the memory of our ancestors," and — prayed in vain. And, further, to show to the satisfaction of those gentlemen of the South, who truly believe that slavery is such an evil and sincerely desire to be rid of it, that there is no considerable difficulty in effecting this object, except such as may arise from their own want of energy, or the opposition of those, who are far from considering it any disadvantage, or from wishing to do away with it.

This comprehensive project they propose to promote the consummation of, by the same apparatus of means, which are in common use in this country. They propose to proceed precisely as those individuals did, who set on foot the temperance project; those, who labored to have the Bank of the United States rechartered; or to carry through a protecting tariff; or those, who now labor to procure the election of Messrs. Webster, Van Buren, White, or Harrison to the Presidency. They propose like them to organize societies, publish papers, make speeches, and set in motion all the machinery, by which public opinion is ordinarily attempted to be influenced.

Now such a plan may in your opinion be a bad one, but certainly it is a plan of some kind — and unless you are prepared to take the ground that a large number of your fellow-citizens are utterly false, it is one that they believe to be a good and a lawful one. And as to the means, although it may be readily admitted that there

* See note C.

have been defects in the execution of them, I am unable to see any objection to the principle. That men, who are continually, and in an unqualified manner, denounced as fanatics, should occasionally lose their temper, is too common an event to be a cause of surprise, or great indignation; though it may be of sorrow, that both the cause and effect are matters of such ordinary observation.

Blameable however as means of this kind may appear to you, they did not so appear to your fathers. Though I am neither lawyer, nor legislator, I have some notion that the establishment of a precedent may have an influence in favor of the attempt to bring this case under some authority, which should limit the very strong language of reprobation which has been applied to it.

I have at this moment before me, gentlemen, a volume of pamphlets, entitled "Minutes of the Proceedings of a Convention of Delegates from the Abolition Societies, established in different parts of the United States, assembled at Philadelphia, on the first day of January, 1794," &c. &c. The same volume contains also the constitution and act of incorporation of one of these societies, of which Benjamin Franklin was president, and, singular as it may seem to us now, the Rt. Hon. William Pitt, Dr. Lettson, Lafayette, and a whole host of distinguished "foreigners," are among the names mentioned in the act—and these persons, foreigners and all, gentlemen, and "*their successors*," are "declared and created to be one body politic and corporate in deed and in law, by the name, style, and title of "The Pennsylvania Society for promoting the Abolition of Slavery, and for the relief of free negroes unlawfully held in bondage and for improving the condition of the African race," &c. &c.—and this is the preamble of their constitution.

"It having pleased the Creator of the world to make of one flesh all the children of men, it becomes them to consult and promote each other's happiness, *as members of the same family*, however diversified they may be

by color, situation, religion, or different states of society. It is more especially the duty of those persons, who profess to maintain for themselves the rights of human nature, and *who acknowledge the obligations of Christianity*, to use such means as are in their power to extend the blessings of freedom to every part of the human race; and in a more particular manner, to such of their fellow-creatures as are entitled to freedom by the laws and constitutions of any of the United States, and who, notwithstanding, are detained in bondage by fraud, and violence. From a full conviction of the truth and obligation of these principles, *from a desire to diffuse them, wherever the miseries and vices of Slavery exist,*" &c. &c. &c. Such is the preamble to the constitution of the society; and, among the long array of venerable names connected with it, we find some of those, which, two years before, had been attached to that Constitution of these United States, which is now held to frown so sternly on such movements. And what did this society do, gentlemen? Just what the abolitionists propose to do now. They petitioned Congress to do what they could towards the abolition of slavery. The following is a part of their memorial, which showed that,

"From a regard for the happiness of mankind, an association was formed, several years since, in this State, Pennsylvania, by a number of her citizens of various religious denominations, for promoting the abolition of slavery, and for the relief of those unlawfully held in bondage. A just and acute conception of the true principles of liberty, as it spread through the land, produced accessions to their numbers, many friends to their cause, and a legislative coöperation with their views, which, by the blessing of Providence, have been successfully directed to the relieving from bondage a large number of their fellow-creatures of the African race. They have also the satisfaction to observe, that, in consequence of that spirit of philanthropy and genuine liberty, which is generally diffusing its beneficial influence, similar institutions are forming at home and abroad.

"That mankind are all formed by the same Almighty

Being, alike objects of his care and equally designed for the enjoyment of happiness, the Christian religion teaches us to believe, and the political creed of Americans fully coincides with the position. Your memorialists, particularly engaged in attending to the distresses arising from slavery, believe it to be their indispensable duty to present this subject to your notice. They have observed with real satisfaction that many important and salutary powers are vested in you for 'promoting the welfare and securing the blessings of liberty to the people of the United States;' and as they conceive, that these blessings ought rightfully to be administered, *without distinction of color*, to all descriptions of people, so they indulge themselves in the pleasing expectation, that nothing, which can be done for the relief of the unhappy objects of their care, will be either omitted or delayed.

"From a persuasion that equal liberty was originally the portion, and is still the birth-right of all men; and influenced by the strong ties of humanity, and the principles of their institution, your memorialists conceive themselves bound to use all justifiable endeavours to loosen the bands of slavery, and promote a general enjoyment of the blessings of freedom. Under these impressions, they earnestly entreat your serious attention to the subject of slavery; that you will be pleased to countenance the restoration of liberty to those unhappy men, who alone, in this land of freedom, are degraded into perpetual bondage, and who, amidst the general joy of surrounding freedom, are groaning in servile subjection, that you will promote mercy and justice towards this distressed race, and that *you will step to the very verge of the power vested in you for discouraging every species of traffic in the persons of our fellow-men.*

Signed, BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, *President.*

This memorial was read in Congress on the 12th of February, 1790; and how was it received? Gentlemen, there is nothing new under the sun. The mind of man runs its little mill-horse round, treading over and over

again the same worn footpath. On the question of commitment, Mr. TUCKER of South Carolina said, that "he was surprised to see a memorial on this subject, and that signed by a man *who ought to have known the Constitution better*. He thought it a mischievous attempt, as it respected the persons in whose favor it was intended. It would buoy them up with hopes, without a foundation, and as they could not reason on the subject, as more enlightened men would, they might be led to do, what they would be punished for, and the owners of them, in their own defence, would be compelled to exercise over them a severity, they were not accustomed to. Do these men expect a general emancipation of slaves by law? This would never be submitted to by the Southern States without a civil war. Do they mean to purchase their freedom? He believed their money would fall short of their price. But how is it they are more concerned in this business than others? Are they the only persons who possess religion and morality? &c. &c. &c.; and to say the best of this memorial, it is an act of imprudence, which he hoped would have no countenance from the House."

Mr. SENEY of Maryland "denied that there was any thing unconstitutional in the memorial, at least, if there was, it had escaped his attention, and should be obliged to the gentleman to point it out," &c. &c. &c.

Mr. BURKE of South Carolina "*saw the disposition of the House*, and he feared it would be referred to a committee, maugre all their opposition; but he must insist that it prayed for an unconstitutional measure, &c. &c. He was certain the commitment would sound an alarm, and blow the trumpet of sedition in the Southern States. He was sorry to see the petitioners paid more attention to than the Constitution," &c. &c.

Mr. SCOTT of Pennsylvania said, "I cannot entertain a doubt but the memorial is strictly agreeable to the constitution. I cannot, for my part, conceive how any person can be said to acquire a property in another; I do not stand in need of religious motives to induce me to reprobate the traffic in human flesh; other considerations

weigh with me to support the commitment of the memorial and every constitutional measure likely to bring about its total abolition. Perhaps in our legislative capacity we can go no farther than to impose a duty of ten dollars, but *I do not know how far I might go, if I was one of the Judges of the United States, and those people were to come before me and claim their emancipation, but I am sure I would go as far as I could.*"

Mr. JACKSON of Georgia* "differed with the gentleman last up, and supposed the master had a *qualified property* in his slave. The gentleman said, he did not stand in need of religion to induce him to reprobate slavery; but if he is guided by that evidence, which the Christian system is founded on, he will find that religion is not against it, he will see, from Genesis to Revelation, the current setting strong that way. Let me ask the gentleman, if it is policy to bring forward a business, at this moment, likely to light up the flame of civil discord? The gentleman says, if he was a federal judge, he does not know to what length he would go in emancipating this people; but I believe his judgment would be of short duration in Georgia; *perhaps even the existence of such a judge might be in danger.*"

Mr. BALDWIN of Georgia "was sorry the subject had ever been brought before Congress, because it was of a *delicate nature,*" &c.

Mr. SMITH of South-Carolina said, "When we entered into this confederacy, we did it from *political*† not from *moral* motives, and I do not think my constituents want to learn morals from the petitioners. *I do not believe they want improvement in their moral system;* if they do, they can get it at home. Such is the state of agriculture in that country that, without slaves, it must be depopulated. Why will these people, then, make use of arguments to induce the slave to turn his hand against his master?"

Mr. PAGE of Virginia "was in favor of the commit-

* See note D.

† See note E.

ment. The object of the memorial was, that Congress would consider whether it be not in reality within their power to exercise justice and mercy, which, if adhered to, they cannot doubt must produce the abolition of the slave trade, &c. &c.

“With respect to the alarm that was apprehended, he conjectured there was none; but there might be a just cause, if the memorial was not taken into consideration. He placed himself in the case of a slave, and said, that on hearing that Congress had refused to listen to the decent suggestions of a respectable part of the community, he should infer that the General Government had shut their ears against the voice of humanity, and he should despair of any alleviation of the miseries he and his posterity had in prospect; *if any thing could induce him to rebel, it must be a stroke like this, impressing on his mind all the horrors of despair.*”

Notwithstanding the alarm, gentlemen, the memorial was committed, by a vote of 43 against 11.

The report was offered on the 16th of March, and was as follows:—

“That, from the nature of the matters contained in those memorials, they were induced to examine the powers vested in Congress, under the present constitution, relating to the abolition of slavery, and are clearly of opinion,

“First, That the General Government is expressly restrained from prohibiting the importation of such persons ‘as any of the States, *now existing*, shall think proper to admit, until the year 1808.’

“Secondly, That Congress, *by a fair construction* of the Constitution, are equally restrained from interfering in the emancipation of slaves, who already are, or who may, *within the period mentioned*, be imported into, or *born within*, any of the said States.

“Thirdly, That Congress have no authority to interfere in the internal regulations of particular States, relative to the instruction of slaves in the principles of morality and religion; to their comfortable clothing, accommodations, and subsistence; to the regulation of their marriages,

and the prevention of the violation of the rights thereof, or to the separation of children from their parents ; to a comfortable provision in cases of sickness, age, or infirmity ; or to the seizure, transportation, or sale of free negroes ; but have the fullest confidence in the wisdom and humanity of the Legislatures of the several states, that they will revise their laws, from time to time, when necessary, and promote the objects mentioned in the memorials, and every other measure that may tend to the happiness of slaves.

“Fourthly, That, nevertheless, Congress have authority, if they shall think it necessary, to lay, at any time, a tax or duty, not exceeding ten dollars, for each person of any description,” &c.

[The 5th and 6th refer to the trade, as carried on by foreigners.]

“Seventhly, That the memorialists be informed, that, in all cases, to which the authority of Congress extends, they will exercise it for the humane objects of the memorialists, so far as they can be promoted on the principles of justice, humanity, and good policy.”

This report was debated in Committee of the Whole, seven days, and there amended so as to read as follows:—

“That the *migration* or *importation* of such persons as any of the States, *now existing*, shall think proper to admit, cannot be prohibited by Congress, *prior to the year 1808*.

“That Congress have no authority to interfere in the emancipation of slaves, or in the treatment of them, within any of the States ; it remaining with the several states alone to provide any regulations therein, which humanity and true policy may require.

“That Congress have authority to restrain the citizens of the United States from carrying on the African trade, for the purpose of supplying foreigners with slaves, and of providing, by proper regulations, for the humane treatment, during their passage, of slaves, imported by citizens into the States admitting such importation.”

Both reports, the special and the amended, were then

entered on the journals of the House, by a vote of 29 to 25.

Was the zeal of the Abolitionists, gentlemen, abated by this result? Not a whit. They proceeded sturdily to organize societies, to call conventions, and to take, what were then considered, lawful means, *to diffuse their principles wherever the miseries and vices of slavery existed.*"

I have already mentioned, that I have before me the minutes of the proceedings of their Convention of 1794. The names of the delegates, who were principally from the Northern and Middle States, — Tracy, Franklin, Patterson, Rush, &c. &c., are appended, and their doings are such, as seem to me very similar to some of those of the now existing Abolition Societies. They voted "to address memorials to the different States, which have not yet abolished domestic slavery," which certainly was a kind "of interference with their domestic affairs;" also, "that addresses be sent to the several Abolition Societies, recommending them to continue their zeal and exertions, in behalf of such of our African brethren as are yet in bondage; also, to use their utmost endeavours to have the children of the free *and other* [!!] Africans instructed in common literature — in the principles of virtue and religion, and afterwards in useful mechanical arts; thereby to prepare them for becoming good citizens of the United States." Also, "that an address be written and published to the citizens of the United States, to impress upon them, in the most forcible manner, the obligations of justice, humanity, and benevolence towards our *African brethren*, whether in bondage, or free, and to request their concurrence with us in *all the objects* of the present Convention."

The following extracts from these documents, may serve to exemplify the extent to which Abolition principles were avowedly carried in those days.

From the addresses to the States, who have not yet abolished domestic slavery: —

"Actuated by a desire to vindicate the honor of the United States, the rights of man, and the dignity of

human nature, the Abolition Societies, in various and distant parts of the Union, have delegated your memorialists to consider of, and endeavour to promote, such plans as may tend to diminish the number of slaves in the United States, meliorate their situation, and eventually eradicate an evil, entailed upon us by our ancestors, which must, as long as it exists, be considered as *a dishonorable stain upon a country*, the basis of whose political happiness is *man's equal rights*." And again :

"Some of the principal evils, foremost in the group of calamities, incident to the practice of slavery, your memorialists take the liberty of specifying. Negroes, considered merely as subjects of property, are frequently carried off by force from their dearest connexions, and transported to places where even the severity of their former bondage is increased — where a new climate, rigid laws, and despotic manners, render their despair complete. Until a radical abolition of slavery itself be exploded, the general opinion, that the color of a man is evidence of his deprivation of the rights of man, shall afford more effectual security, it is presumed that the legislative protection of absolute prohibitions and of adequate penalties, may be reasonably expected. To enumerate those obstacles to individual emancipation, which still remain, sometimes obvious, and sometimes concealed, in the mass of municipal regulations, would exceed the reasonable bounds of the present application ; but, with a knowledge of their existence, and a sense of their injustice, your memorialists respectfully unite in a request, that individual emancipation may, if not promoted by encouragements, at least be relieved from incidental penalties. Yet, in breaking the fetters and removing the sorrows of slavery, what do we effect, if the new-made man is relieved from the power of one, only to be sensible of his hopeless inferiority to all ? As the opinions of men continue to be regulated, we know that the negro has little to expect from the distribution of public functions ; still, there are certain *rights*, not *privileges*, certain *claims*, not *favors*, to which, we conceive, legislative justice might safely admit him.

Of what use is his hard-earned property, if the law does not spread its defence about it?" &c. &c. "*To acquire a useful member of the community, we should hold up to his view a participation in its privileges,*" &c. &c. "It will be found, that an increase of the useful qualities of the *African citizen*, will keep pace with the kindness and protection of which he partakes."

Extracts from the address to the different Abolition Societies:—

"The advantages from this meeting are so evident, that we have agreed earnestly to recommend to you, that a similar meeting be annually convened, until *the great objects of our association, the liberty of our fellow-men, shall be fully and unequivocally established.* For this purpose, we think it proper to request you to unite with us in the most strenuous exertions to effect a compliance with the laws in favor of emancipation; and, where these laws are deficient, respectful applications to the State Legislatures should not be discontinued, however unsuccessful they may prove. Let us remember, for our consolation and encouragement in these cases, that although interest and prejudice may oppose, yet *the fundamental principles of our government*, as well as the progressive and rapid influence of reason and religion, are in our favor; and let us never be discouraged, *by a fear of the event, from performing any task of duty, when clearly pointed out;* for it is an undoubted truth, that no good effort can ever be lost. We cannot refrain from recommending to your attention the propriety of using your endeavours to form, as circumstances may require, Abolition Societies in your own and *in the neighbouring States*, as, *for want of the concurrence of others, the good intentions and efforts of many an honest and zealous individual are often defeated.*" And again:

"It cannot have escaped your observation, how many persons there are who continue the hateful practice of enslaving their fellow-men, and who acquiesce in the sophistry of the advocates of that practice, merely from want of reflection, and from an habitual attention to

their own immediate interest. If to such were often applied the force of reason, and *the persuasion of eloquence*, they might *be awakened to a sense of their injustice, and be startled with horror at the enormity of their conduct*. To produce so desirable a change in sentiment, as well as practice, we recommend to you the instituting of annual or other periodical discourses, or orations, to be delivered in public, on the subject of slavery, and the means of its abolition."

But, above all, they voted to publish, and even appointed a committee to superintend the publication and *distribution* of the following Address to the People of the United States.

"United to you by the ties of citizenship, and partakers with you of the blessings of a free government, we take the liberty of addressing you upon a subject, highly interesting to the credit and prosperity of the United States. Much has been done by the citizens of some of the States to abolish this disgraceful traffic, (the African slave trade,) and to improve the condition of those unhappy people, whom the ignorance, or the avarice of our ancestors had bequeathed to us as slaves; but the evil still continues, and our country is disgraced by laws and practices, which level the creature man with a part of the brute creation. Many reasons concur in persuading us to abolish domestic slavery in our country.

"It is inconsistent with the safety of the liberties of the United States. Freedom and Slavery cannot long exist together. An unlimited power over the time, labor, and posterity of our fellow-citizens, necessarily unfits men for discharging the public and private duties of citizens of a republic.

"It is inconsistent with sound policy; in exposing the States, which permit it, to all those evils, which insurrections, and the most resentful war have introduced into one of the finest islands in the West Indies. It is unfriendly to the present exertions of the inhabitants of Europe, in favor of liberty. What people will advocate freedom, with a zeal proportioned to its blessings, while

they view the purest republic in the world tolerating in its bosom a body of slaves? In vain has the tyranny of kings been rejected, while we permit in our country a domestic despotism, which involves, *in its nature*, most of the vices and miseries that we have endeavoured to avoid. It is degrading to our rank as men in the scale of being. Let us use our reason and social affections for the purposes for which they were given, or *cease to boast a præminence over animals, that are unpolluted with our crimes*. But higher motives to justice and humanity towards our fellow-creatures remain yet to be mentioned. Domestic slavery is repugnant to the principles of Christianity. It prostrates every benevolent and just principle of action in the human heart. *It is rebellion against the authority of a common FATHER. It is a practical denial of the extent and efficacy of the death of a common SAVIOUR. It is an usurpation of the prerogative of the Great Sovereign of the Universe, who has solemnly claimed an exclusive property in the souls of men*. It is a violation of a divine precept of universal justice, which has in no instance escaped with impunity. We shall conclude this address by recommending to you—

“First, to refrain *immediately* from that species of rapine and murder, which has improperly been softened with the name of the African trade.* It is Indian cruelty, and Algerine piracy in another form.

“Secondly, To form Societies, *in every State*, for the purpose of promoting the abolition of the slave trade, *of domestic slavery*, the relief of persons unlawfully held in bondage among us, and for the improvement of the condition of Africans, and their descendants among us.”

The following extracts are from the report of one of the Abolition Societies to the Convention of 1801. They seem to resemble what is now charged upon the Abolitionists, as amalgamation.

“In the city of Burlington, N. Jersey, there is a free

* Which it was then considered unconstitutional to interfere with.

school for the education of poor children, supported by the profits of an estate, left for that particular purpose, which school is open for the reception of black, equally with white, children. The account from Gloucester county on this head states, that in several parts of that county, there are funds established for the schooling of poor children, white or black, without distinction, in the whole about £1000."

Again. "Several hundred blacks and people of color reside in white families," &c. &c. &c.

Again, in regard to publications, the Report says, "There is a standing committee of this society, denominated 'The Committee of Publication,' the design of which is to publish, from time to time, in such manner as they may deem expedient, pieces, extracts, or essays, on the subject of emancipation, tending to promote the views of this association. We could wish, that this mode of advancing the cause of abolition was more attended to, for we are convinced that much good might be done, by the *distribution of suitable publications* on the subject."

Again, the Delaware Report states apologetically, that "no publications, tending to promote the abolition of slavery, have yet been distributed; but an address to the public on this important subject is now prepared, and will speedily be published."

The Virginia Report "feels perfect freedom in soliciting such pecuniary aid from you [the general Convention] as it may be in your power to afford." Pecuniary aid!!! what for? The Report of the Convention explains, "that in Virginia the system is so far restrained by popular prejudice and *legislative encroachment*, as to require the fostering care of the Convention;" and proceeds to recommend the establishment of a permanent fund for such purposes.

Again we find the Convention of 1801 addressed the citizens of the United States. "We are sensible," say they, "that many of our fellow-citizens have labored under mistaken impressions, and have ascribed to us views as inconsistent with the policy of our country.

It is true we contemplate the deliverance from slavery of all the blacks and people of color in these States, sooner or later, by such means as your humanity and the wisdom of our rulers may suggest ; and though we think the existing laws of some of the States unnecessarily severe, yet we pointedly disavow any wish to contravene them, while they remain in force, or to hazard the peace and safety of the community, by the adoption of ill-advised and precipitate measures." " We are convinced, that so long as a relation subsists between cause and effect, and the present policy of those States is pursued, so long the deprecated calamity is to be dreaded ; and while we all revolt with horror from the anticipation of an organization on the part of the slaves, we conceive there is a certain state of degradation and misery to which they may be reduced, a certain point of desperation to which the human mind may be brought, and beyond which it cannot be driven, &c. &c. &c. Finally, fellow-citizens ! as you value your own peace, and that of your families ; the quiet and security of our country ; the obligations of our holy religion, and the favor of an overruling Providence, let us entreat you to enter into the consideration of the subjects now submitted to you."

Finally, gentlemen, the proceedings of the Convention are voted to be communicated to Granville Sharpe of the *London Society*, thus connecting themselves with *British* influence ; and, to crown all, I find at the end of one of these pamphlets a picture, coarse enough, to be sure, in execution, but significant, representing a respectable looking person, of the old school, taking a half-naked negro by the hand, and bidding him work and be happy.

I could extend such extracts much farther, and should not think it a very extravagant undertaking to engage to adduce a parallel for almost every thing that is now said and done by the present Abolition Societies. I say almost, for in one particular, there is a difference, as the present Societies contend for immediate abolition ; by which they mean, that when abolition takes place, it

should be at once, and not by the substitution of apprenticeships, or projects of that kind, which admit to the slave the principle of abolition, without practising upon it in a way that he can very well understand, or one which his former owner can derive the most benefit from. This doctrine may be erroneous, but really would seem to be entitled to some respect, as it was that of the leading and most respected Abolitionists in Great Britain, in regard to the West-India islands; and the result of the experiment in those islands, where both plans have been tried, is hitherto in favor of it.

Such, gentlemen, were the abolition movements when some of us were boys—carried on by men with whose names are connected our earliest associations of respect, and they were considered by multitudes of the wise and good every where, as reflecting honor on their authors. I will not venture so answer the question, Why should not similar ones be so considered now? The following extracts may suggest something, which may, to some at least, appear to be relevant. They are from a “Dissertation on Slavery, by St. George Tucker, Professor of Law in the University of William and Mary, and one of the Judges of the General Court in Virginia,” printed in 1796, dedicated to the General Assembly of Virginia, and bearing this motto on the title-page: “Slavery not only violates the laws of nature, and of civil society,—it also wounds the best forms of government; in a democracy, where all men are equal, Slavery is contrary to the spirit of the Constitution. MONTESQUIEU.”

“But if the voice of reason, justice, and humanity be not stifled by sordid avarice or unfeeling tyranny, it would be easy to convince even those who have entertained such erroneous notions, that the right of one man over another is neither founded in nature nor sound policy,—that a state of slavery is not only perfectly incompatible with the principles of government, but with the safety and security of their masters. Those who wish to postpone the measure, (Abolition,) do not reflect that every day renders the task more arduous. Milo acquired strength enough to carry an ox, by begin-

ning with the calf. If we complain that the calf is too heavy for our shoulders, what will not the ox be? If we doubt the propriety of such measures, what must we think of the situation of our country, when we shall have more than two millions of slaves among us? Will not our posterity curse the days of their nativity with all the anguish of Job? What a blood-stained code must that be, which is calculated for the restraint of millions held in bondage!" "From the communication," he adds, "of sentiment between those who lament the evil, it is possible that an effectual remedy may at length be discovered. Whenever that happens, the golden age of our country will begin. Till then —

— Non hospes ab hospite tutus,
Non herus a famulis: fratrum quoque gratia rara."

The prophecy is startling enough. Has he proved "a lying prophet?" The millions are here,—the Lynch code is in full operation; a price is openly set by fellow-citizens on each other's heads. Gentlemen, the ox is fairly on our shoulders, and he is growing while we are sleeping.

The abolition movements, to which I have alluded, were continued and kept up public sentiment till the abolition of the slave-trade, in 1808. After that, the attention of the community was diverted by the convulsions of Europe, the din of party, the increase of wealth, commerce, and manufactures, and other Delilahs of the time, till, in 1820, on the fatal Missouri question, the Samson of Abolition found his struggles unavailing, and Slavery was *originated* under a Constitution, whose reluctant and disapproving silence was on that occasion *construed* into tacit encouragement.* But the locks of the champion are once more growing, and though his steps may seem to some to be sightless,

* That refined construction, which makes the constitution a silent and acquiescing accessory, looking with undisturbed complacency upon what it professes to hold in detestation, may answer the purpose of argument here, but it can avail nowhere else. The judgment of mankind is not formed upon artificial distinctions like this. *Speech of Mr. SERGEANT, on the Missouri Question.*

bethink you, gentlemen, that they are steadied by the very central pillars of the temple of Liberty. He is clinging to *Freedom of Speech* and *the Liberty of the Press*, and his expiring struggles cannot be without danger to the whole edifice.

To leave metaphor, and come to plain prose: the public have before them the disclaimer of the Abolitionists, a solemn pledge of their peaceable and, at least as it appears to them, lawful intentions. Among the names of its signers are those of men, to whose integrity and discretion few would hesitate to confide the management of almost any thing, but this particular operation. And yet, to find a warranty for much that is said in different public journals in regard to a movement, of which these men are confessedly among the leaders, it is necessary to assume either their deliberate falsehood, or almost insane aberration from the common understanding of mankind.

I have refrained from subjoining my name to this letter, for a reason, that I hope I may venture to borrow from an eminent philanthropist on a similar occasion, without incurring any suspicion of arrogating to myself any of his claim to the deference of the public. "The request of the author," says Dr. Rush, in the advertisement to his *Vindication of an Address on Slavery*, "was, that his name should be concealed, such subjects being foreign to his ordinary studies and business." But I think I may venture to say with confidence, that, although I may naturally wish that your opinions in regard to some of these matters were somewhat modified, I am behind none of the community in respect for the brilliancy of your talents, the sincerity of your purposes, and your love of our common country.

Boston, September 2, 1835.

NOTES.

NOTE A.

THE advocates of the duty of silence, in regard to the whole matter of slave-holding and trading in the United States, are occasionally pushed to the wall by the sturdy abolitionist, who inquires why "a great moral and political evil" is still suffered to remain unabated in the District of Columbia; and the reply is, generally, according to the writer's experience, that some great man, somewhere, has been understood to say, that there was some reason, why it was unconstitutional to abate it. The case would appear to lie in a nut-shell. Congress being, by the Constitution, the "exclusive Legislature" of the District, why should it not pass any law in regard to that District, whatever? There can be but two reasons. Because such a law would be unconstitutional, or because it would be inequitable.

A third reason, to be sure, is often hinted at, but never, I believe, broadly avowed, except in the resolutions of that zealous and patriotic body, the Legislature of South Carolina, viz: That emancipation in the District is forbidden by the acts of cession of Maryland and Virginia. If this were true, it would be of no consequence; for any such limitation would be unconstitutional and consequently null. But the assertion is one of the most utterly gratuitous ones, that the writer remembers to have met with. The acts of cession are now before him, and this is their language.

"Be it therefore enacted by the General Assembly," says the act of Virginia, "That a tract of country not exceeding ten miles square, or any lesser quantity, to be located within the limits of this State, and in any part thereof as Congress may by law direct, shall be and the same is hereby for ever ceded and relinquished to the Congress and Government of the United States, *in full and absolute right and exclusive jurisdic-*

tion, as well of soil, as of persons residing, or to reside thereon, pursuant to the tenor and effect of the eighth section of the first article of the Constitution of the Government of the United States.

“*Provided*, That nothing herein contained shall be construed to vest in the United States *any right of property, in the soil*,* or to affect the rights of individuals *therein*, otherwise than the same shall, or may be transferred by such individuals to the United States.

“*And provided also*, That the jurisdiction of the laws of this Commonwealth, over the persons and property of individuals residing within the limits of the cession aforesaid, shall not cease or determine *until Congress*, having accepted the said cession, *shall by law, provide for the government thereof, under their jurisdiction, in manner provided by the article of the Constitution before recited.*”

“Be it enacted by the General Assembly,” says the act of Maryland, “That all that part of the said territory called Columbia, which lies within the limits of this State, shall be and the same is hereby acknowledged to be for ever ceded and relinquished to the Congress, &c.” The rest being in the same words, as that of Virginia above quoted. There is not a word in either, that the writer can see, about either slaves, or, according to the more approved term for ears polite, “persons held to service.”

What then are the constitutional restrictions upon the Legislature of the District? Just what they are upon the other Legislatures of the several States. And this is a sufficient answer to all the imaginations, which individuals occasionally choose to indulge in, concerning entails and the like. All the Legislatures in the Union, that of the District included, are forbidden by the Constitution to pass such laws, one just as much as the other, and no more. In like manner all the Legislatures are forbidden to take private property for public uses without compensation; the restriction in this matter is the same upon the Legislature of the District as upon those of New York, Massachusetts, or Pennsylvania. When therefore these States abolished slavery within their several precincts,

* The gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. Ingersoll) had adverted to a clause in the Virginia act of cession. That clause was intended to prevent the United States from acquiring an interest in the soil, or interfering with landed titles. *Speech of Mr. ROBERTSON of Virginia!!!—National Intelligencer, Dec. 28, 1835.*

they acted unconstitutionally, or else it is constitutional for Congress to abolish in the District.

But some, whilst they admit the constitutionality of such a proceeding, may nevertheless contend, that it would be inequitable to do so, without the consent of a majority of the inhabitants. Now they either mean to set up a general principle, applying to all laws relating to the concerns of the District, or they only refer to this particular case. But to establish such a principle would be equivalent to reducing the powers, given by the Constitution to Congress, to that of a mere registration of such laws as the Columbians; in their wisdom and goodness, may choose to accept. This is nullification with a vengeance. It is striking a note on the Constitutional fiddle, which can hardly accord with those of the individuals, who are constantly holding the broad shield of the Constitution between their hearts, and every appeal of the abolitionist in behalf of mercy, justice, and consistency.

Or, without proposing a general principle of legislation, they may mean to argue only in relation to the particular case. But, if any other *great moral and political evil* happened to be agreeable to the majority of the Columbians, as lotteries, gambling, drunkenness, or blasphemy; if the slave-markets were slaughter-houses, and the smell thereof ascended into the nostrils of the legislators, and threatened putrid fever to their alarmed imaginations, at the interesting period of the approach of warm weather and warm debates, as the yells may occasionally reach to their ears; if the advertisements of brothels, instead of negro auctions, garnished the journals, which are daily laid upon their tables; I say, if these things were so, would any man in his senses gravely put forward the plea, that Congress could not justly abate such nuisances, in their own seat of government, within the very precincts of their court, because the majority of the denizens were pleased to object to their doing so?

But there is probably no occasion to prove this point, nor any danger of distressing the feelings of the sturdy defenders of the rights of the majority in this matter. There is probably little question that the majority of the *inhabitants* of the District are in favor of the abolition of slavery. "Ah! but," urges the opponent, "to make that point out, you must include the *colored inhabitants*, whom the laws do not recognise as qualified voters." True enough! But the question is not now about *law* but *justice*.

“ The power then of Congress over its own territories is, by the very terms of the Constitution, unlimited. It may make all ‘ needful rules and regulations ; ’ which, of course, include all such regulations, as its own views of policy and expediency shall from time to time dictate. If, therefore, in its judgment, it be needful for the benefit of a Territory to enact a prohibition of slavery, it would seem to be as much within its power of legislation, as any other ordinary act of local policy,” &c. &c. *Memorial prepared in 1819 by DANIEL WEBSTER, GEORGE BLAKE, JOSIAH QUINCY, JAMES T. AUSTIN, and JOHN GALLISON, and presented to Congress.*

NOTE B.

“ No person has ever doubted, that the prohibition of the foreign slave-trade was completely within the authority of Congress, since the year 1808. And why? Certainly only because it is embraced in the regulation of *foreign commerce*. And if so, it may, for the like reason, be prohibited, since that period, between the States. Commerce in slaves, since the year 1808, being as much subject to the regulation of Congress, as any other commerce; if it should see fit to enact that no slave should ever be sold from one State to another, it is not perceived how its constitutional right to make such provision could be questioned.” *Boston Memorial by WEBSTER, BLAKE, &c. quoted above.*

“ I think this channel is stopped, as it ought to be, by the power of Congress to prevent importation and *migration*. Importation we all understand to include slaves brought in from abroad, from any foreign territory, whether by land or by water; and we all agree, that it is sufficient to comprehend in its interdict, every bringing in of slaves from abroad. The term *migration* is applied to the same description of ‘ persons ’ and, upon the plainest principles of construction, must be understood to mean something different from ‘ importation.’ What can it apply to, but the passage or transfer of slaves from one State or Territory to another ? ” * * * “ The clause in question has always been understood to apply to slaves, and to slaves only, from the adoption of the Constitution to the present

time." * * * "Sir, this construction, in itself so reasonable, has actually been adopted in practice. By the act of 1804, for dividing Louisiana into two territories, it is enacted that no slaves shall be imported from abroad, and none shall be brought from any port or place, within the limits of the United States, that have been imported since the first day of May, 1798." *Speech of JOHN SERGEANT, in the House of Representatives, Feb. 1820.*

NOTE C.

"And if this could now be effected, and the bill (for admitting Missouri) could be accompanied by such guards and provisions, as would for ever preclude the spread of that *moral pestilence*, he should not repent of the oblation he had offered to the spirit of conciliation." * * * * "If a stranger to our country, but familiar with its history, upon arriving here at this moment, and witnessing the perturbation of men's minds, within doors and without, should be told, on inquiring the cause, that it arose from a discussion of the question, whether slavery should be inhibited in your territorial possessions; his first impression would certainly be that this question had been put to rest some three and thirty years ago. 'I have read,' he would be inclined to say, 'that the earliest exercise of your authority over the domain ceded to the United States, was manifested in a solemn protest against the introduction of slavery into it, and that you thus afforded an earnest of your future policy and intentions in regard to all similar acquisitions of ceded territory. Wherefore, in the ordinance for governing the north-western territory, did you, with such grave determination establish *as one of the fundamental principles of civil and religious liberty*, for the regulation of your territories in all future time, the exclusion of involuntary servitude, and why should you now relax a system, established in the healthful vigor and freshness of your newly acquired liberty, and bring into doubt principles, which were then so solemnly determined? To these inquiries, he should only be able to answer, 'Tempora mutantur et nos mutamur in illis.' " * * * "He was certainly not now prepared to go into a consideration of the nature and extent of this evil in the old States, or of any present or future remedy. It was,

however, a subject of most serious reflection from which the Congress of the United States could not always escape. *It was a common concern.*” * * * * “He would then leave the question of expediency, inexhaustible as he felt it to be, with these few general remarks, being unable to agree to any measure, which should *counteract the spirit of the age*, by increasing the mischiefs of slavery to a degree, boundless in extent and perpetual in duration, and to entail on posterity a scourge, for which we reproach the memory of our ancestors.” *Speech of the Hon. HARRISON GRAY OTIS, in the Senate of the United States, Jan. 25, 1820.*

NOTE D.

Extract from Franklin's Works.

Reading in the newspapers the speech of Mr. Jackson in Congress, against meddling with the affairs of slavery, or attempting to mend the condition of the slaves, it put me in mind of a similar speech, made about one hundred years since by Sidi Mahomet Ibrahim, a member of the Divan of Algiers, which may be seen in Martin's account of his consulship, 1687. It was against granting the petition of the sect of *Erika* or *Purists*, who prayed for the abolition of piracy and slavery, as being unjust. Mr. Jackson does not quote it: perhaps he has not seen it. If therefore some of its reasonings are to be found in his eloquent speech, it may not only show that men's interests operate, and are operated on, with surprising similarity, in all countries and climates, whenever they are under similar circumstances. The African speech, as translated, is as follows:

“Alla Bismillah, &c. God is great, and Mahomet is his prophet.

“Have these Erika considered the consequences of granting their petition? If we cease our cruises against the Christians, how shall we be furnished, with the commodities their countries produce, and which are so necessary for us? If we forbear to make slaves of their people, who in this hot climate, are to cultivate our lands? Who are to perform the common labors of our city and of our families? Must we not then be our own slaves? and is there not more compassion and more

favor due to us mussulmen than to those Christian dogs? We have now above fifty thousand slaves in Algiers. This number, if not kept up by fresh supplies, will soon diminish, and be gradually annihilated. If then we cease taking and plundering the infidels' ships, and making slaves of the seamen and passengers, our lands will become of no value, for want of cultivation; the rents of houses in the city will sink one half; and the revenues of government, arising from the share of prizes, must be totally destroyed, — and for what? To gratify the whim of a whimsical sect, who would have us not only forbear making more slaves, but even manumit those we have. But who is to indemnify their masters for the loss? Will the state do it? Is our treasury sufficient? Will the Erika do it? Can they do it? Or would they, to do what they think justice to the slaves, do a greater injustice to the owners? And if we set our slaves free, what is to be done with them? Few of them will return to their native countries; they know too well the greater hardships, they must there be subject to. They will not embrace our holy religion; they will not adopt our manners: our people will not pollute themselves by intermarrying with them. Must we maintain them as beggars in our streets; or suffer our properties to be the prey of their pillage? for men accustomed to slavery will not work for a livelihood when not compelled. And what is there so pitiable in their present condition? Were they not slaves in their own countries? Are not Spain, France, Portugal, and the Italian States governed by despots, who hold all their subjects in slavery without exception? Even England treats her sailors as slaves; for they are, whenever the government pleases, seized and confined in ships of war, condemned not only to work, but to fight for small wages, or a mere subsistence, not better than our slaves are allowed by us. Is the condition then made worse by falling into our hands? No: they have only exchanged one slavery for another; and I may say a better; for here they are brought into a land where the sun of Islamism gives forth its light, and shines in full splendor; and they have an opportunity of making themselves acquainted with the true doctrines, and thereby save their immortal souls. Those who remain at home have not that happiness. Sending the slaves home then, would be sending them out of light into darkness. I repeat the question what is to be done with them? I have heard it suggested that they may be planted in the wilderness, where there is plenty of

land for them to subsist on, and where they may flourish as a free state. But they are, I doubt, too little disposed to labor without compulsion, as well as too ignorant to establish good government; and the wild Arabs would soon molest and destroy, or again enslave them. While serving us, we take care to provide them with every thing; and they are treated with humanity. The laborers in their own countries are, as I am informed, worse fed, lodged, and clothed. The condition of most of them is therefore already mended, and requires no further improvement. Here their lives are in safety. They are not liable to be impressed for soldiers and forced to cut one another's Christian throats, as in the wars of their own countries. If some of the religious mad bigots, who now tease us with their silly petitions, have, in a fit of blind zeal, freed their slaves, it was not generosity, it was not humanity, that moved them to the action; it was from the conscious burden of a load of sins, and a hope, from the supposed merits of so good a work, to be excused from damnation. How grossly are they mistaken in imagining slavery to be disavowed by the Alcoran! Are not the two precepts, to quote no more, 'Masters treat your slaves with kindness—Slaves serve your masters with cheerfulness and fidelity,' clear proofs to the contrary? Nor can the plundering of infidels be in that sacred book forbidden; since it is well known from it, that God has given the world, and all that it contains, to his faithful mussulmen, who are to enjoy it, of right, as fast as they conquer it. Let us then hear no more of this detestable proposition, the manumission of Christian slaves, the adoption of which, by depreciating our lands and houses, and thereby depriving many good citizens of their properties, create universal discontent, and provoke insurrections, to the endangering of government, and producing general confusion. I have therefore no doubt that this wise council will prefer the comfort and happiness of a whole nation of true believers to the whim of a few Erika, and dismiss their petition." The result was, as Martin tells us, that the Divan came to this resolution: "That the doctrine, that the plundering and enslaving Christians is unjust, is at best problematical; but that it is the interest of this state to continue the practice, is clear; therefore, let the petition be rejected;" and it was rejected accordingly.

This pungent article was dated March 23, 1790, just twenty-five days previous to the death of its author. So that one of

the last acts of Dr. Franklin's long and honorable life, was this elaborate parallel between the Southern slave-holder and the Mediterranean "pirate." An act not so very dissimilar to those of another *Boston Printer*, and his associates, for which they have been denounced in Congress, reviled in Faneuil Hall, and mobbed, within a few rods of the spot, on which it has been sometimes proposed to erect his statue.

NOTE E.

So it would indeed seem. The following is the second article of the celebrated non-importation association of the Colonies.

"We will neither import, nor purchase any slave imported after the first day of December next; after which time, we will wholly discontinue the slave-trade, and will neither be concerned in it ourselves, nor will we hire our vessels, or sell our commodities, or manufactures, to those who are concerned in it.

"Oct. 24, 1774."

Signed,

HENRY MIDDLETON,	} of South Carolina.
THOMAS LYNCH,	
JOHN RUTLEGE,	
EDWARD RUTLEGE,	

But the front of battle lowered then, and the "hard hands" of the North were wanted. Fourteen years after, when the battle had been fought and won, we find South Carolina refusing to accept the Constitution, unless it should be so framed as to permit the slave-trade.





